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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1866

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EVALUATION OF SITUATION ON EVE OF 16TH CONGRESS

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 1, Jan 81 pp 14-20

[Article: "Facing the 16th Congress of the CPCZ"]

[Text] The most important event in the life of the Communist Party and of our whole society in the first year of the new decade will be the 16th Congress of the CPCZ which is convening in accordance with the bylaws of the party and as determined at the 18th session of the CPCZ Central Committee. The 16th congress will take up the report on activities of the party and developments of society since the 15th congress, the report of the Central Control and Audit Commission and the report on main directions of economic and social policies of the party for the period 1981 to 1985. The congress will present other party objectives, will discuss documents and elect a new Central Committee and central control commission.

The 18th session of the CPCZ Central Committee designated the main tasks of the party in the period before the congress and the tasks of preparing for the congress. The address by Comrade Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, was approved as the main guideline for party work in the pre-congress period.

Fully conscious of its responsibility, the party set about carrying out its precongress tasks as confirmed by the annual membership meetings which have already taken place. Deliberations at the membership meetings were marked by a positive and critical spirit, sober evaluations of results and profound analyses of problems and shortcomings. The annual membership meetings not only assessed how individual basic organizations had carried out the tasks stemming from the policies of the 15th congress and resolutions of the CPCZ Central Committee and tasks formulated at preceding annual membership meetings, but they also prescribed procedures and tasks for the upcoming period. The course of deliberations at the annual membership meetings and the resolutions passed show the deep and critical concern of communists about the results achieved and the firm determination of party organizations to further improve their political-organizational, ideological-educational and cadre work and consolidate the unity of the party and people.

The congress is a matter for the whole party. Consequently, it is necessary that all party members get involved in its preparations in accordance with the resolution of the 18th session of the CPCZ Central Committee that all organizations,

all responsible workers and every communist should render accounts for the preparation of the congress and consider how to improve their activity in the coming period, how to carry out their tasks better. The point is that all the good experiences derived from implementing the concluding acts of the 15th congress should be given general application in future work and that all party forces be mobilized to carry out the demanding and complicated tasks and take the offensive in overcoming all shortcomings.

Assessing results achieved and prescribing tasks for the future is a matter not only for the highest bodies, but rather a matter for every party organization, every communist. And it is also not a strictly internal party matter because the party assesses results,evaluates goals achieved and stipulates future ones always openly before all the people in accordance with their special interests.

The basis of the Communist Party's policies is a general program to build a developed socialist society as formulated by the 14th congress and further specified at the 15th congress. The intent of this policy is to continue to defend the interests of the laboring class and of all workers and provide a scientifically justified answer to the need for further development of our society. At the 18th session of the CPCZ Central Committee Comrade Gustav Husak, in characterizing the policy of building a developed socialist society, stated: "It has the full support of our people which, through experience, is convinced of its correctness. In this Marxist-Leninist spirit we see the building of a developed socialist society as a challenging revolutionary achievement of the laboring class and all workers, an achievement which forms an integral part of the process of profound social changes in the world. As emphasized at the 15th congress, it is a program to consolidate the socialist system and the power of the workers at the forefront with the laboring class and to intensify the leading role of the Communist Party and its ties with the people. It expects and requires the harmonious development of all areas of social life. Its constituent parts are the development and consolidation of socialist productive and social relations, linking up the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution with the priorities of socialism and raising the material and cultural standards of life of the people on the basis of increased efficiency and quality of all work. It includes the development and improvement of socialist democracy, learning, science and culture and the important goal of forming and educating the socialist man. It is a program of firm friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, a program of struggle for peace and social progress."

The general policy for building a developed socialist society has its continuity which is also the point of departure for the preparation of the 16th congress and for forumlating the goals and objectives of the upcoming period. In carrying out its policies in the 1970's the party gained a wealth of experience which it will also utilize in the 1980s. The experiences showed how important for its unity and ability to act, for the unity of the party and people, are the level and quality of intraparty life, consistent adherence to party statutes, applying the principle of democratic centralism, intensifying intraparty democracy, collective leadership, the expansion of criticism and self-criticism and strengthening comradely ties.

New tasks in the building of a developed socialist society will place heavier demands on the party. Therefore, past experiences should not be rejected or forgotten, but should be utilized and further developed. The new tasks will in fact require that the leading role of the party in society be raised to an even higher level, that methods and styles of party operations be further improved, that the atmosphere of active work, the unity of words and deeds, the spirit of criticism and self-criticism and collective reviewing of complex problems be intensified.

The evaluation of results achieved in all sectors of our social life which is being carried out in the precongress period, and which will culminate in the assessment submitted at the 16th congress, will allow us to designate the best paths to follow for the further development of our socialist society--the best from the viewpoint of our resources and capacities, our conditions and with respect to developing world trends.

Evaluation and assessment show that the results achieved in carrying out the concluding acts of the 15th congress form a reliable basis for successfully carrying out the tasks and demands of the coming years. Comrade Gustav Husak presented a responsible assessment of the basic results when he stated at the 18th session of the CPCZ Central Committee: "When we think about the results of the work of the party and all our society we can say that the basic directions outlined at the 15th congress are in general being followed very successfully. Recent years were full of the untiring struggles and dedicated work of communists and our people for the continued prosperity of our society. We have achieved a number of good results and overcome not a few obstacles and difficulties. We have had to, and will have to, deal with deficiencies, too, in our work. All the years of the 1970's enter into the history of our socialist construction as a decade of fruitful constructive work and the stable, peaceful development of the happy and contented life of our people. In all areas of the political, economic and intellectual life of society we have made further progress. So our party rightly approaches its 16th congress with justifiable pride over the results achieved, but also with awareness of the difficulty of future tasks and with resolution to carry out in the future, too, its responsibilities to the Czechoslovak people for the continued successful development of our socialist homeland."

In the course of socialist construction we have created extensive assets and amassed material resources and social and spiritual strength which were further augmented when the concluding acts of the 15th congress were carried out. Our socialist society is marked by a strong economic base, a firm political infrastructure and cultural maturity. Even though we did not manage to carry out all our intentions, even though there were shortcomings in work and difficulties arose, we can say that positive tendencies predominated in the development of society. Meeting the material and intellectual needs of the people was achieved to a relatively high degree as attested to, for example, by increased cash earnings of 23 percent during the 5 years (including income security benefits and benefits provided to families with children), a 15 percent increase in average monthly wages, and equalization of the income level of cooperative farmers with that of workers in other branches of the national economy. Benefits for income security and benefits provided families with children were increased and the sale of

retail goods increased by 21 percent. Personal consumption increased in real value by almost 10 percent in the 5-year period. Average consumption of meat per person reached the amount of 85 kg of an increase of 4.8 percent. The sale of passenger cars increased 14 percent. We rank among the leaders in the world not only in consumption of all basic types of food, standard of clothing and home furnishings, but also in the really high living standard of the broadest strata of people.

National income increased by one-fifth, the value of fixed assets by 31 percent and facilities for workers through fixed assets by 41 percent, the volume of industrial production increased by one-fourth and building production by 28 percent. Agricultural production increased in the course of the Sixth Five-Year Plan an average of 9 percent compared with the preceding period. At the present time one worker in agriculture provides food for 15 people; in 1970 the figure was 12.

In evaluating results one must not forget the fact that both internal and external conditions in the Sixth Five-Year Plan were considerably more difficult and complicated than in the Fifth Five-Year Plan. Changes taking place in the world economies affected our economy too. We were not, and in the future cannot be, isolated from overall changes in the system of international division of labor, the development of integration processes and especially from the constant increases in the cost of raw materials, fuel and energy. Now it is generally much more difficult and costly to obtain fuel, energy, raw materials and supplies than it was in the past. Deteriorating natural and geological conditions, lengthening transportation distances and the costliness of building infrastructures which are necessary to obtain new mineral deposits all play a role here. This situation prevails here at home as well as in socialist, capitalist and developing countries. "Consequently, it is an invaluable asset," said Comrade Lubomir Strougal at the 18th session of the CPCZ Central Committee, "that in the next five-year plan we will be buying raw materials from the Soviet Union--especially from there--as well as from the other CEMA countries at considerably lower prices than those in nonsocialist countries. In the next five-year plan the principle will still apply whereby we can import raw materials and supplies from the Soviet Union for prices that correspond to the average of foreign prices in the preceding 5 years. This high-minded action of the Soviet Union will enable us to gradually adjust to world market conditions and to make the best assessment in our production of ever more costly raw materials and supplies." The results of our collective work are justifiably the source of our pride and strength to successfully deal with the tasks of the forthcoming period. The results embody the devoted and creative labor of workers, farmers, members of the educated class, women and young people, the efforts of the party to meet our prescribed goals and the application of the energies, experiences and skills of our people and the races and nationalities of our country.

The largely favorable results must not lead us to unfounded optimism,unconcern and complacency, nor should the onset of difficulties and shortcomings lead to pessimism and loss of confidence in the prospects of further development of society. The Communist Party is fully aware of the fact that the development and realization of the consistent Marxist-Leninist policies never were and never will be possible without great efforts, without a struggle between the new and the old, without overcoming inertia and all kinds of shortcomings and prejudices.

The Communist Party consistently and systematically analyzes current developments in order to discover shortcomings and problems and to determine if there are any obstacles that prevent further progress. It does not and will not excuse any deficiencies that arise through ineffective or faulty management under the most demanding and difficult general conditions. For example, at the 18th session of the CPCZ Central Committee Comrade Gustav Husak stated: "More than once we have pointed out that in production, trade and the services there are many deficiencies and disorders which often can be remedied first of all by greater responsibility, better supervision and sometimes even by the integrity of the workers involved. This applies to supplier-consumer relations, to the production of spare parts, to the fragmentation of building capacities into excessive numbers of investments operations, to better management of animal feeds, reducing livestock mortality and reducing losses in harvesting, etc. Especially serious are the shortcomings that affect the everyday life of the citizens and provoke justifiable criticism." The party require that shortcomings be consistently eliminated. This is a matter for state bodies which have jurisdiction in the given problems, as well as party organizations within these bodies.

The strategic policy of the party to attain higher efficiency and better quality in all work still maintains its validity and importance. Meeting the demanding tasks of the further development of our society will require even more consistent application of this policy. In no case may we relax in our efforts to attain the greatest efficiency because between the development of social production and the growth of its efficiency there is a direct connection which will be asserted in the future even more strongly than ever before. That is why we place such great emphasis on the mobilization of all domestic reserves and the consistent application of intensive factors of economic growth, especially scientific-technical developments.

In the upcoming period we will have very limited opportunities to expand our raw material and energy resources. Even though we have achieved certain results in reducing our energy and material demands for production, we still cannot be satisfied that we are making the most of our energy, raw materials and supplies. To improve this state of affairs we must proceed much more energetically and systematically. We must follow the same procedures in solving the problems of scientific-technical development, better management of manpower and problems of investment policies. The development of social production and raising the people's standard of living are being retarded not only because we are not making the most of fuel, energy and raw materials, but also because of the low level of utilization of production assets, working time and the high degree of building starts which are becoming ever more intolerable burdens vitiating extensive resources.

Handling and eliminating deficiencies is necessarily connected with continued improvement in the style and method of management work, reinforcing party and state discipline and consistent supervision in the execution of tasks. Overcoming routines and inertia is connected with this. Not a day must be lost here and nothing must be left to chance because in January of this year we entered the period of the new five-year plan and began to implement the Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of the National Economy after 1980.

We cannot regard the Set of Measures as some kind of elixir, a cure-all for our economic ills and problems. First of all, our national economy is not in such a state as to require some kind of "miraculour" cure. And the Set of Measures is not anything that would be contrary to existing efforts to improve planned management or the existing economic policy of the party. The Set of Measures is a tool, a component part of the economic policies of the party and an important step in the continuing process of improving planned management, a tool which, consistent with the socialist character of production relations, will increase the effect of intensive factors of economic growth and make it possible to effectively link the results of the scientific-technical revolution with the priorities of socialism.

The party realizes that implementation of the Set of Measures will call for untiring and patient efforts and will place great demands on management personnel to generally increase work discipline in management. Its implementation will require thoughtful, highly qualified political-organizational work among people along party lines, as well as with state and social organizations because it cannot be done without changes in attitudes, in dealings of people and work collectives, in styles and methods of work, without a struggle for changes in thinking and taking a really party-oriented approach to the task. Formalism, dilatoriness and administrative procedures that exclude worker participation have no place in the implementation of the Set of Measures. The whole ideological front is being mobilized for the implementation of the Set of Measures with its chief objective being the education of socialist man in the spirit of the universal scientific outlook, the education of man with an ideologically involved, enterprising attitude toward work, one who relates his personal interests with the interests of society at large and active socialist ownership with deep international perceptions.

The period which we are entering places higher demands not only on the party, but also on operations of the state apparatus, the national committees and social organizations. The party will devote systematic attention to the development of the whole political system, it will strive to improve the working style of all its components, reinforce the power of the working people by expanding and consolidating many forms of socialist democracy whose main thrust is the active participation of the masses in the formation and implementation of party policy which is bound up with maintaining and consolidating socialist legality and the protection of basic values and our revolutionary achievements.

In looking to the future we ask ourselves where is the guarantee that we will successfully carry out even the most complicated and challenging goals. It is in the devoted work of our people guided by the Communist Party and in our firm alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Consolidating the cooperation and alliance, the development and intensification of universal cooperation with the Soviet Union are for us the most reliable sponsorship of sovereignty, independence, security and the successful development of our socialist homeland. We are actively contributing toward strengthening the unity of, and consolidating cooperation with, countries of the socialist community, toward developing the operations and reinforcing the organization of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA. At the present time, when the efforts of imperialism are growing stronger to reverse progressive developments in the world and break the communal ties between the socialist countries and the Soviet Union we attach particularly great importance to consolidating the unity of the socialist countries and strengthening their international cooperation.

This year we are celebrating the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CPCZ. In the 60-year history of the victorious road to independence for the laboring class and all working people, overthrowing the domination of the bourgeoisie, liberating our nations from fascist oppression, establishing the power of the laboring class and the working people and building and developing socialism, we find a wealth of experience for the present, a source of inspiration and strength to cope with the challenging goals of the future. The 60th anniversary of the founding of the CPCZ, like elections to representative bodies which will take place in June of this year, will become important incentives toward further developing mass political work of party agencies, organizations and all communists, a stimulus for the development of enterprising activity and initiatives of workers in preparing the 16th CPCZ Congress and the execution of its concluding acts.

8491
CSO: 2400

KRAKOW PZPR PLENUM SEES NEED FOR CONSOLIDATION

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 12, 1980 pp 21-22

[Article by Lech Winiarski]

[Text] After the sixth plenum of the Central Committee, the Krakow party echelon deliberated three times at plenary sessions. At each of these, the dominant topic was the overcoming of the serious impasse within the party. Even at the last plenum of the PZPR Krakow Committee, on 21 November of this year, there was sharp discussion of problems of reckoning. Demands were being made to convene a special party congress and to call to account those persons who have brought about the present political crisis--regardless of the positions held by them. It was demanded that the party purge itself fundamentally and rapidly of persons "with soiled hands." Comrade Gustaw Wrobel, a judge and a member of the Krakow Party Control Commission (KKKP), stressed the need for local organs of party control and justice to act more decisively along these lines.

This critical trend was related in that period to the political initiative of the Krakow party echelon in creating new methods of work and in mobilizing the basic party organization for activity in various social groups.

It seems to me that a very essential matter in the enhancement of the atmosphere of political renewal is the tendency of the PZPR Krakow Committee to anticipate the course of events and to come forth with the initiatives which relate PZPR plant and local committees and organizations to the party echelon. This is expressed in the Krakow Committee plenum's appointment of a special subcommittee for study of conclusions and demands of the basic party organization which were addressed to the Ninth PZPR Congress. This happened as early as 13 October of this year. The subcommittee, chaired by the Jagellonian University professor, Hieronim Kubiak, as early as mid-November had in its files valuable materials from 180 party organizations. Divided into nine issue groups, the subcommittee covered the most important areas of the life of the great center of industry, science and culture that Krakow is.

We are trying to act in such a way--Comrade Hieronim Kubiak was saying at the November plenum of the Krakow Committee--as to find an answer to the question: What is the party to be like today? First of all, our concern is to stop the process of passivization of the party which began in the 1970's. Through stimulating

the collective wisdom of the party, we should work out principles of its leading role, consisting, above all, in actions of the party members themselves and not of the party staff apparat. Our concern is also not to duplicate administrative and economic institutions. Although political renewal began outside the party, at present the party must be in the forefront of democratic changes so as to make sure they proceed in the right direction.

Thus, the subcommittee proposed organizing in the first half of December a consultation conference with the participation of representatives of 500 of the largest basic party organizations, at which conference there would be ample discussion of conclusions resulting from previous studies--directly for the work of the basic party organization, regardless of resultant suggestions for the Central Committee Conference Commission.

The consultation conference, prepared by the Organization Department of the Krakow Committee [illegible] the factor of the consolidation of all the party forces around the policy line [illegible]ich was initiated by the sixth plenum of the Central Committee. It is a factor of its mobilization for concrete actions in all social groups. This is all the more necessary because--as was said at the opening of the discussion at the plenum of the Krakow Committee by its first secretary, Comrade Krystyn Dabrowa--many party organizations "have become engrossed in criticism of higher echelons and in self-criticism," and many others "have squatted down in passivity." This situation threatens to "eliminate the party through impasse" from many areas of social life. This passivity is reflected in the fact that in some segments of the basic party organization attendance at meetings barely reaches 50-60 percent.

A very essential matter is the action of the Krakow Committee on a broader social front, namely, through nonstaff aktiv. In the Krakow Committee resolution of October of this year, it was resolved, among other things:

"The Issues Commissions of the PZPR Krakow Committee and of the lower echelons ought to participate energetically in defining the essential plan of action for the echelons. The Issues Commissions ought to give opinions on all the personal decisions as to rank, together with decisions affecting employees of the party apparat, and they also ought to make periodic evaluations of the work of individual departments of the Krakow Committee for the needs of the Krakow Committee executive body."

This resolution is being carried out, as is the remembered Leninist principle of the superiority of elected organs over the party apparat and executive organs. The Krakow Committee has committed all its members and candidate members to maintain regular contact with the basic party organizations and to represent to them the echelon's position in all fundamental matters. This means an obligation to participate in meetings of the basic party organization once a month, to give them advice, and to relay their opinions, conclusions and observations directly to the Krakow Committee.

In Krakow, we separated very early the functions of the first secretary of the Krakow Committee from those of the chairman of the People's Council. The latter function was entrusted by the councilmen, by election, to the well-known social activist, Comrade Andrzej Kurz, who is the director of Wydawnictwo Literackie [publishing enterprise].

As regards the principal directions of the action of the People's Council of the city of Krakow, they should aim, as was emphasized at the November plenum of the Krakow which would receive broad support from our society. This program, contrary to recently implemented practices of unreasonable and extensive development of industry, must take into account the historical-monument character of the city. It should be aimed at eliminating the chemical compounds emitted by some factories and, above all, by the aluminum foundry in Skawina, which are harmful to the population's health and destructive to the priceless treasures of national culture. Our press has published many articles on these matters, and so there is no need to discuss them here. Instead, from the standpoint of the party's political activity it is vitally important, on the one hand, to engage scientific centers in work on the future program of development of Krakow and to utilize their research and conclusions to date, research and conclusions which were often disregarded in recent years. This would include examining the proposals of institutions created by the rank and file, such as the Krakow Ecology Club.

On the other hand, the Krakow Party Committee, the People's Council, and the City Administration, should, under new conditions, aim to establish partner relations with the central specific character of the city and not to impose on it the kind of investment decisions that would be contrary to its exceptional character in our country.

These practical demands hint at the important problem of decentralization of management, democratization of the system of the state's functioning, and overcoming the bureaucratic centralism which has done so much damage to our country's life.

The demand for greater independence of local authorities requires them simultaneously to deal vigorously with current problems that are important for the inhabitants, without waiting for decisions from above. It is precisely such urgent needs that were spoken about at the plenum of the Krakow Committee by its secretaries, comrades Zdislaw Gasidlo and Henryk Michalski and also the city's mayor, Comrade Jozef Gajewicz. These needs include, above all, increase in market supply, development of services, and modernization of industry. Although the Krakow Committee had already prepared a comprehensive modernization plan 2 years ago, it was implemented to a very small extent. As a matter of fact, new installations were constantly being built while old ones were being neglected. As a result of this policy and the tendency toward gigantomania, the depreciation of old plants is likely to exceed the value of new investments.

At present there is an urgent need, for example, to build or rebuild small bakeries and to activate small mills in order to meet the commonest needs in the area of the population's food supply. It will be necessary to restore facilities with a floor area of 40,000 square meters for trades and services in relation to work on Krakow's renovation. An unusually painful matter is the shortage of apartments, a situation which has been worsened by drastic nonfulfillment of the annual plan. All this requires an energetic "tuning up" of processing capacities, mobilization of construction work forces and, above all, improvement in the organization of the work of the construction industry.

Agriculture requires considerable help. It lacks not only tractors and other machinery but frequently the simplest tools like pitchforks, plows, shovels, and scythes.

Also lacking are small dairies and small processing plants which would be located near the farmer and thus capable of rapid utilization of his products. In this field, the rural areas must receive ample help from the city, the city industry, and the construction industry.

These and similar suggestions and concrete conclusions which were heard at the November plenum of the Krakow Committee--as I mentioned in my introduction, the third one after the political crisis in our country--were an expression of the gradual passing of the Krakow echelon from a critical analysis of the past to creating an outline of a concept for the future. In both fields, the course of the discussion was permeated by concern for preserving the Leninist principles of intra-party democracy and for ensuring the correct direction of political renewal in Poland. Attention was called to the activity of the opposition forces and to the incitement of nationalist and anti-Soviet feelings (comrades Bartlomiej Bebenek, Wladyslaw Machejek and Stefan Golebiowski). There was talk about the need to isolate anti-socialist elements from the new trade unions.

Above all, however, the emphasis was on the need for a new approach to our society, its political ambitions and vital needs. We cannot be blind to the fact that "the pre-August world is gone forever," as was said by Comrade Jerzy Nykiel, chairman of the Council of the Krakow Federation of the Socialist Union of Polish Youth (SZMP). It is necessary to treat the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity (NSZZ Solidarity) like a partner. Of course, the party's task is to make sure that it is an organization which fully implements the socialist program of the development of our country. PZPR members, while being active in the Solidarity, should, by their personal example and work, impart to this union the correct political character and combat the influence of the right. Indeed, it is the largest organization of the working class in Poland at present.

The party, its aktiv and the employees of the apparat understand the need for political renewal. As has been pointed out in the discussion, however, our ranks also include some comrades with conservative attitudes, who simply cannot think and act in a new manner; they have become used to the old method of work, to the directive-and-order method of management and they cling desperately to the past. In the report of the Krakow Committee executive body, the following statement was made concerning this topic:

"Thus, we should determinedly oppose those who languish for so-called normal times, for a period which some define as a period of exercising power in comfort."

Today this "comfort" no longer exists. And, as a matter of fact, is expressed in criticism by Krakow Committee members of their own executive body. An example of this could be the sharp criticism of a proposal concerning the resignation of Comrade Stefan Markiewicz, in charge of matters of science and institutions of higher learning, from the position of the secretary of the Krakow Committee. Many discussants emphasized that this proposal of the Krakow Committee executive body was totally without motivation, that Comrade Markiewicz had gained recognition in scientific and student circles, and that during the difficult weeks of political crisis he had been able to establish direct contact with PZPR university organizations. Questions were being asked why university committees had not been consulted about such an essential proposal. As a result of this criticism, Comrade Markiewicz

withdrew his resignation and the executive body's motion failed. It seems to me that this incident is a fairly substantial "sign of the times" in the party's life in Krakow.

"The party's consciousness is gradually changing for the better," said Comrade Roman Ney, deputy member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and director of the Academy of Mining and Metallurgy, [in Krakow] during the Krakow Committee plenum. However, we should devote more attention to molding a universal consciousness of the serious danger to the party and to our country which results from constant worsening of our economic difficulties. This requires also greater specificity in our tasks and analyses. Next plenum of the Krakow Committee should be of precisely such a specific character, as should its resolutions, which subsequently will require ironclad consistency in their implementation."

Comrade Ney once more stressed the need for the party to anticipate the course of events and to be in the forefront of the renewal process because only such a vanguard position guarantees restoration of the confidence of the masses in the party and enhancing its leadership in our society.

9577
CSO: 2600

MINISTRY ANNOUNCES RECRUITMENT OF MILITARY SCHOOL CANDIDATES

Military Academies and Higher Officers Schools

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 23 Dec 80 pp 1, 5

[Announcement of the Ministry of National Defense Concerning Recruitment of Candidates to Military Academies and Higher Officers' Schools]

[Text] The Ministry of National Defense announces volunteer recruitment of candidates to the following military academies and higher officers schools:

--Military Technical Academy im. Jaroslaw Dabrowski (WAT) in Warsaw;

--Military Medical Academy im. Div Gen Boleslaw Szarecki (WAM) in Lodz;

--Higher Naval School im. Bohaterow Westerplatte [Heroes of Westerplatte] (WSMW) in Gdynia;

--Higher Mechanized Troop Officers School im. Tadeusz Kosciuszko (WSOWZ) in Wroclaw;

--Higher Armored Troop Officers School im. Stefan Czarniecki (WSOWP) in Poznan;

--Higher Air Force Officers School im. Janek Krasicki (WOSL) in Deblin;

--Higher Rocket Troops and Artillery Officers School im. Gen Jozef Bem (WSOWRiA) in Torun;

--Higher Antiaircraft Defense Officers School im Lt Mieczyslaw Kalinowski (WSOWOPl) in Koszalin;

--Higher Engineer Officers School im. Gen Jakub Jasinski (WSOWI) in Wroclaw;

--Higher Signal Troop Officers School im. Col Boleslaw Kowalski ps. "Ryszard" (WSOWL) in Zegrze near Warsaw;

--Higher Radio Engineering Officers School im. Capt Sylwester Bartosik in Jelenia Gora;

--Higher Chemical Warfare Officers School im. Stanislaw Ziaja in Krakow;

--Higher Automotive Officers School im. Gen Aleksander Waszkiewicz in Pila;

--Higher Quartermaster Service Officers School im. Marian Buczek in Poznan.

The length of studies: in WAT - 5 years; in WAM: medical - 6 years, stomatological and pharmaceutical - 5 years; in WSMW - 4.5 years; in other higher officers schools - 4 years.

Graduates of military academies and higher officers schools are promoted to a degree of sublieutenant of the Polish Army, and receive a diploma of the completion of higher studies and titles: of engineer, physician, stomatologist, pharmacist and engineer-commander of corresponding military specialty.

Moreover, in eight military higher schools (WSMW, WSOWZ, WSOWP, WSOWRiA, WSOWOPl, WOSL, WSOWl, and WSOWL) instruction is also being given in the military-political line of specialization. Graduates of this line of studies receive a diploma of the completion of higher studies in the sociopolitical range.

Candidates to military academies and higher officers schools should meet the following requirements:

--Polish citizenship;

--proper moral and political qualities;

--Fitness for military service as a candidate for being professional soldier, certified by a decision of a proper military medical board;

--being unmarried;

--age up to 24, except for WAM, for which the age limit is 22.

An additional condition for the admission to the Higher Naval School and to Higher Air Force Officers School is that to have the adequate physical ability ascertained by specialized military medical boards (naval and air force).

The candidates competing for admission to one of the above-mentioned schools submit applications to the commandants of the respective schools through the Military Recruitment Board of the place of residence, and the military candidates shall apply through official channels.

Application forms may be obtained at military recruitment boards or at headquarters of military units.

The following must be filed with application:

--a copy of birth certificate and attestation of Polish citizenship if the candidate does not yet have the identity document;

--school certificate (the original), establishing that the candidate has the required degree of education. The students of the last grade of the secondary school can present an appropriate certificate, establishing attendance at the last grade, whereas the secondary-school certificate shall be presented in this case immediately after its obtainment;

--a reference or opinion of the school administration, of the political or social organization, or from working place;

--two 3.5 x 4.5 cm photographs;

Last dates for submitting applications together with documents are: to MSMW - 5 May, WAT and WAM - 20 May, WOSL - 11 May, and to all other higher officers schools - 20 May 1981.

Candidates are obliged to pass a competitive entrance examination within a secondary school scope.

Entrance examinations and the test of physical efficiency as well as qualifying interviews will take place in MSMW on 15-26 June, WAT and WAM - 1-8 July, WOSL - 22-30 June, and in the rest of higher officers schools, 1-8 July 1981. The psychological examination of candidates will be carried out in departments of military psychology of military districts and in psychological rooms of educational-occupational consulting departments of school superintendent's offices of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing on the established dates.

Detailed information to the candidates in question is supplied by military recruitment boards, and headquarters of military units and of military schools. It is also found in guidebooks for candidates to military professional schools and candidates to higher civil schools.

Cadet and Noncommissioned Officers Schools

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 28 Dec 80 pp 1, 5

[Announcement of the Ministry of National Defense Concerning Recruitment of Candidates to Cadet Officers Schools and Noncommissioned Officers Professional Schools]

[Text] The Ministry of National Defense announces voluntary recruitment of candidates to the following cadet officers schools and to noncommissioned officers professional schools:

Cadet Officers Schools:

--Mechanized Troop Cadet Officers School in Elblag: of 1 (for candidates who did, or shall do after admission to school, at least 12 months of basic military service) and 3 years' duration;

--Radio Engineering Cadet Officers School in Jelenia Gora (of 2 and 3 years' duration);

--Air Force Cadet Officers School in Deblin (of 2 years' duration;

--Air Force Technical Staff Cadet Officers School in Olesnica and Zamosc (of 2 and 3 years' duration);

--Political Cadet Officers School in Lodz (of 2 years' duration);

--Engineering and Transportation Cadet Officers School in Wroclaw (of 2 and 3 years' duration);

--Automotive Service Cadet Officers School in Pila (of 2 and 3 years' duration), and armored troops line of specialization (of 2 and 3 years' duration);

--Internal Military Service Cadet Officers School in Minsk Mazowiecki (of 2 years' duration);

--Quartermaster Service Cadet Officers School in Poznan (of 2 and 3 years' duration);

--Armaments and Electronics Service Cadet Officers School in Olsztyn (of 2 and 3 years' duration);

--Naval Cadet Officers School in Gdynia (of 2 years' duration);

--Signal Troops Cadet Officers School in Legnica(of 2 and 3 years' duration);

--Territorial Defense Cadet Officers School in Ketrzyn (of 2 years' duration);

--Topographical Service Cadet Officers School in Torun (of 2 years' duration);

--Military Administration Cadet Officers School in Lodz (of 1.5 years' duration).

The cadet officers schools train candidates for professional military service in the Cadet Officers Corps.

Instruction in cadet officers schools lasts from 1 to 3 years. Periods of 1- and 2-year training is for candidates who are graduates of secondary technical schools or lyceen of general education, with a 3-year period for candidates who are graduates of primary technical schools.

Candidates to cadet officers schools must meet the following conditions: Polish citizenship, proper moral qualities, fitness for military service as candidates for being professional soldiers certified by a decision of the proper medical board, being unmarried and up to 24 years in age.

Candidates who seek to be admitted to cadet officers schools shall submit their applications to the commandant of the respective school through the military recruitment board of the place of residence, and the military candidates shall apply through official channels. Application forms may be obtained at military recruitment boards or at headquarters of military units. The following must be filed with applications:

--a copy of the birth certificate and attestation of Polish citizenship in the event that the candidate does not yet have the identity certificate;

--school certificate, establishing that the candidate has the required degree of education; those attending the last grade of secondary school or primary technical school may present an appropriate certificate, establishing attendance of the candidate at the given grade;

--an opinion of the school administration, sociopolitical organization or from the working place.

The graduates of secondary schools are admitted to Cadet Officers schools without entrance examination after a qualifying procedure. They must undergo, however, a test of physical efficiency and psychological examination. The other candidates must pass, moreover, an entrance examination from the Polish language (written), mathematics (written and oral), and from the subject corresponding to the line of study in the given cadet officers school, within the scope obligatory in the primary technical school they have graduated from.

Having passed final examinations, the graduates of the 1- and 2-year cadet officers schools receive a diploma of the completion of studies at the given school, and those studying at 3-year schools receive in addition a certificate of graduation from secondary school. At the same time, they are promoted to the grade of junior cadet officer, and called up to professional military service, which they perform in military units and official positions corresponding to their qualifications.

The test of physical efficiency, psychological and entrance examinations will be performed in the Naval Cadet Officers School on 15-26 June 1981, the Air Force Cadet Officers School on 1-6 July 1981, and in the remaining schools on 9-15 July 1981.

Last dates for submitting applications together with documents are: the Naval Cadet Officers School - 5 May, the Air Force Cadet Officers School - 20 May, and the others - 1 June 1981.

Simultaneously, the recruitment is being carried on of candidates for professional noncommissioned officers in the following forces and services:

1) Mechanized forces, armored forces, rocket troops and artillery, air force, rocket troops of air defense of the country, antiaircraft defense troops, chemical warfare troops, engineer troops, signal troops, radio engineering troops, military transportation service, health service, navy, quartermaster services, armaments service, cantonment and construction service, internal military service, territorial defense forces.

Conditions to be met by volunteers:

--to be turned 17 years of age;

--to have primary technical school certificate, or at least two grades of secondary school completed;

--fitness for military service;

--proper moral-political qualities and irreproachable past life.

Candidates who meet these conditions shall submit applications to the military recruitment boards, declaring at the same time their desire for a voluntary performance of the basic military service.

Volunteers are called up for basic service in spring or fall of each year. After graduation from the noncommissioned officers schools, completion of the basic service, and corresponding practice in military units, they may, by the 18th month of service, be called up for the professional service (in the Navy after 24 months). Thereafter they are sent for 6-month courses to the proper noncommissioned officers' professional schools.

Applications to the Naval Noncommissioned Officers Professional School and to be trained as professional noncommissioned officers in other military forces and services can be submitted all the year round.

Candidates seeking directly to be admitted to the Naval Noncommissioned Officers School in Ustka must pass the test of physical efficiency and psychological examinations by the Military Naval Medical Boards.

2) Recruitment is also being conducted for the Military School of Music of the 2nd grade in Gdansk. Candidates to this school must be 15-17 years old and must have been graduated from a school of music of the 1st grade (in exceptional cases primary school when showing an aptitude for music). Applications for admission to the Military School of Music of the 2nd grade can be submitted as of 1 June 1981.

3) Enlistment is also open to the Air Force Lycee at the Higher Air Force Officers School im. Jan Krasicki in Deblin and its branch in Zielona Gora.

This is a professional lycee, which implements the program of a secondary school and trains candidates for service in the air force and in the first place prepares them for studies in the Higher Air Force Officers School in Deblin.

Admission to this lycee may be sought by candidates who have Polish citizenship, have completed eight grades of primary school, are not more than 16 years of age, have appropriate physical and psychological abilities qualifying them in the future for service in the air force as ascertained by aviation-medical examinations, and who will obtain written consent of parents (legal guardians) for undertaking studies in the Air Force Lycee and who submit an engagement, confirmed by their legal representative (parents or guardians), that after graduating from the lycee they will enter the Higher Air Force Officers School as candidates for professional soldiers, or some other military professional school.

More detailed information shall be provided to candidates to cadet officers schools and candidates for noncommissioned officers schools by the military recruitment boards and by headquarters of military units.

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CSO: 2600

PUBLIC OPINION POLL ON CURRENT SITUATION, PROBLEMS NOTED

Warsaw KULTURA in Polish No 9, 1 Mar 81 p 9

[Article by Jacek Kurczewski: "In the Eyes of the Public"]

[Text] The Public Opinion and Program Studies Research Center in Polish Radio and Television has returned to its good traditions in expanding the sphere of recipients of communiques from the systematically conducted surveys of representative samplings of public opinion. Twice a month the Center's pollsters query several thousand Polish inhabitants over 15 years of age on their views and opinions of the present market supply situation and current political events.

On September 1st and 2nd of last year, after the agreements were signed in Gdansk and Szczecin, the Public Opinion and Program Studies Research Center asked a representative sample of Poles how they felt about the strikes. It would seem that the daily inconveniences caused by the strikes and the emphasis placed by official propaganda on the economic losses caused by the strikes would be reflected in a large part of the society. It turned out otherwise. Of those surveyed, 89 percent felt that the strikes were a justified way of supporting the demands of the work forces.

The slow pace of NSZZ "Solidarity" registration and the delays on related decisions led to the announcement on October 3, 1980 of a nationwide one-hour warning strike. The majority of public opinion (67 percent) also supported this strike, while 17 percent believed it was more or less unjustified. Approval for the October strike was greatest among the workers (72 percent), somewhat less among the white collar workers (65 percent) and even less among the farmers (56 percent), although even among the latter the majority supported the warning strike.

Hope and Skepticism

The surveys conducted in mid-September revealed that the Polish people, while placing all their hopes in the agreements, looked with skepticism on any prospects that they would be realized. While 28 percent believed that the agreements would be honored by the government and 9 percent were totally pessimistic, 52 percent, the majority, were of the opinion that the agreements would probably be only partially honored.

Although 43 percent approved of Edward Gierek's speech at the PZPR Central Committee's Sixth Plenum on September 24th, the majority (55 percent) accepted the change in the position of First Secretary with satisfaction. It should also be stressed that over 1/3 did not take a position in this matter, which indicates either a lack of interest in personnel changes in this position or ignorance of the PZPR new leader's intentions and program. Most probably the people had observed that although generally the texts of the speeches made by government representatives responded to the listeners' hopes, their actions have thus far dashed these hopes. Let us note that former premier Jozef Pinkowski's Sejm speech was approved by 75 percent of those queried, just as was the first Sejm speech of former premier Edward Babiuch.

Almost all of those surveyed said they were familiar with the contents of the summer agreements and 3/4 did not have the slightest doubt that they understood the provisions of this "social treaty." Two points in the agreements were believed to be most important and had the widest approval, namely the guarantee of freedom to form new independent, self-governing trade unions and the promise of a general wage increase. Next were such promises as extension of paid maternity leaves, improved health services, increased family benefits, increased pensions and old-age benefits, price stabilization and control, declaration of all Saturdays as non-work days, and finally, reduction of censorship and a promise to keep the people fully informed. The importance of promises of an economic rather than of a political nature was more frequently mentioned, although formation of independent, self-governing trade unions is undoubtedly in the nature of a reform of public life.

In mid-September the majority (65 percent) believed that implementation of the agreements by the authorities was progressing too slowly, although it was also believed that the authorities respected the agreements. More people (71 percent) believed, however, that the agreements were being upheld to a greater degree by labor than by government (61 percent).

That fact that the issue of free trade unions was regarded as one of the two most important points in the agreements was confirmed by the attitudes toward the new trade unions. Their formation was believed to be proper by 90 percent of the total, with only 4 percent having a contrary opinion. At the same time, 63 percent of those employed intended to become members in the new trade unions and only 19 percent wanted to remain in the unions that were in existence up to that time. However, the Public Opinion and Program Studies Research Center communiques do not contain such important information as to who and for what reason selected "old" or "new" trade unions.

The number of persons declaring their membership in NSZZ "Solidarity" grew rapidly during November, due probably to the fact that the union was granted registration. According to November 4, 1980 surveys, 17 percent of citizens over 15 years of age belonged to "Solidarity"; this rose to 28 percent in the November 25 surveys. On that day, therefore, "Solidarity" membership could be estimated at about 7.5 million members, comprising 54 percent of workers in the socialized sector. The proportion belonging to "Solidarity" was highest among skilled workers, then among white collar workers, and lowest among unskilled workers. The registration of "Solidarity" was the main topic of public interest at that time and overshadowed personnel changes in Party and State authorities. In mid-January "Solidarity" became the dominant trade union organization, for an estimated approximately 60 percent of employed, i.e., about 8½ million people were members. In this key trade union, about every sixth member also belonged to PZPR.

After registration and after the premier's first meeting with NSZZ "Solidarity," 41 percent were convinced that both sides were showing an equal amount of goodwill, but 30 percent believed that more goodwill was being shown by the new trade union (6 percent believed the government showed more goodwill and another 6 percent said that there was no goodwill on either side). According to these surveys, made late in November, public opinion leaned toward the belief that trade unions should be concerned mainly with working and social and living conditions.

The majority (65 percent) believed that in negotiations both sides should make mutual concessions; 24 percent believed that the government should make the concessions; and 4 percent that "Solidarity" should. Finally, a decided majority (82 percent) was of the opinion that "Solidarity" should have access to public mass media such as television, radio and newspapers of nationwide scope.

Late last November, the belief prevailed that the agreements were being implemented too slowly. The proportion of those satisfied with the pace of implementation of the "social treaty" stayed at the 13-16 percent level in November, and 68 percent, i.e. 2/3 of the people, felt that the pace of implementation of the November 18, 1980 agreements was too slow.

Almost 40 percent of those surveyed believed that no important changes were made in Poland in recent months; 19 percent saw only changes for the worse; and 12 percent saw changes for the better. Among changes for the worse were less food, industrial items and coal. Among changes for the better were increases in wages, pensions and old-age benefits; next, for development of democratic freedoms, the activity of the new trade unions, changes in authorities, and the greater regard of the authorities for the people. The situation in places of employment was somewhat better: 32 percent said that employer-employee relations in the enterprises had improved, although 56 percent said they saw no change. This totally negative assessment of the first few months after the labor-government agreements were signed is linked to the criticism that the agreements were put into effect too slowly.

Everyday Complaints

Food supplies in the shops were described in 1974 as poor by "hardly" 36 percent of public opinion. The figure rose to 48 percent in 1975 and to over 50 percent between 1976-1979, fluctuating between 52 and 57 percent. As early as the first half of 1980, 57 percent spoke of the poor situation, which then began to worsen even more rapidly. In September 78 percent said it was bad, 88 percent in October, and 91 percent at the end of November last year. The assessment of the country's general economic situation, an assessment which had in previous years been assisted by optimistic official propaganda, also took a rapid turn for the worse. The economic situation was said to be bad by 46 percent of the total in February, 1980; by 65 percent in July, 86 percent in September, 96 percent in October, and 92 percent in November. Thus the awareness that personal difficulties in obtaining food and other indispensable items were related to the generally disastrous economic situation in Poland became universal in the fall. The sharpness of the demands to the authorities to at least punish the persons responsible for the faulty economic policies should not have been surprising. Moreover, it had become apparent how much in the current economic crisis was due to the greed, extravagance and irresponsibility of members of the leadership apparatus.

Signing of the agreements produced an almost alarming growth of optimism. While early in July of last year only 22 percent of public opinion expected an improvement in living conditions in the near future, on September 2nd this figure jumped to 70 percent! If it were to remain at that level, outbursts of aggression could have been expected against the "scapegoats" responsible for the unfulfilled hopes. But as early as mid-September, probably because the government confirmed the heretofore unofficial information that had been circulating about the critical state of the economy, the number of optimists dropped to 59 percent. In October the figure was 43 percent; at the end of November, 38 percent; and early in December it returned to 47 percent.

Because the government presented a brief version of certain plans to improve living conditions, in mid-September the public was asked their opinion of these intentions. Approval was given to these plans, beginning with increases in "old" pensions and old-age benefits (approved by 86 percent) and ending with an increase in the lowest wages to 2,400 zlotys (approved by 76 percent). A large majority, 82 percent, also approved of making all Saturdays non-work days while extending the work week very slightly. The idea of floating a national loan among the people did not bring a universal response. Although 46 percent believed the idea was a good one, only 35 percent expressed a willingness to make such a loan. This should not surprise anyone who recalls the September shock caused when information was confirmed on corruption by representatives of authority and on the economic mismanagement by the present political leadership. By the end of November, 2/3 of the workers in the socialized economy had already received wage increases. Half of them believed that the distribution of raises was fair from the beginning, but 1/4 said that the distribution was made fair only as a result of protests from the workers, i.e., during the conflicts between work forces and the administration.

Early in December the Public Opinion and Program Studies Research Center surveyed social opinion on the proposed standards for allotting meat and fats by a ration card system. Only 45 percent of the total said they were well-informed on this proposal. And although as early as the end of October, 71 percent spoke in favor of a rationing system, after they became familiar with the proposed norms, only 32 percent said they expected improvements in meat supplies, and 17 percent expected an improvement in the supply of fats. In any case, most of them expect their chances of obtaining fats to get worse. It can be said, therefore, that in agreeing to the rationing system, people believed that this would lead to larger supplies. Knowing the proposed normas, people expect their own situation to become worse, which may cause further bitterness and hostility towards the authorities who are distributing the meat and fats. Thus if the market situation does not improve rapidly, further social tensions should be expected.

Equality and Justice

A broadly interpreted egalitarianism is the basic value which designates the sociopolitical form of government desired by contemporary Poles. Equality, as used here, means an equal chance to improve one's living standards, as well as socioeconomic equality and equality before the law. But socioeconomic equality cannot be totally balanced since the majority demands an equitable distribution of material goods, in compliance with the principle of "to everyone according to his work." Other predominating rights which should be part of the political system, in the public's opinion, are protection against social pathology, such as misuse of authority or corruption,

law and order interpreted to mean the right to truthful information, the right to jobs in accordance with qualifications, and the right to respect and human dignity. Other basic rights are the fulfillment of basic economic needs and adequacy of food supplies on the market. Equality, law and order, and prosperity, should be the fundamental ideals whose realization the system should be striving for.

Furthermore, freedom to express an opinion (71 percent), or society's influence on governmental decisions (61 percent) are, for a somewhat smaller segment of society, rights of the same fundamental importance as ensuring law and order in society (82 percent). This probably stems, on the one hand, from being disaccustomed for such a long time to the workings of democratic processes, and, on the other, from the sudden appearance in public life of such phenomena as diversity of opinions, frank discussion, open conflict, and absence of solutions imposed from above. But it is a fact that even in societies that have well-developed democratic processes, these processes are also less frequently regarded as a goal in themselves but more often as a means of realizing other basic values. Speaking comparatively, it seems that Polish society today has neither a lesser nor a greater need for order and democracy in public life.

Equality and justice, however, are in first place (90 percent). And from this standpoint Polish society is not at all unique. The Public Opinion and Program Studies Research Center's survey makes it possible to determine in which sphere of social relationships these values are most threatened. Eighty-five percent of Poles perceive that great, or even very great, social inequalities exist, and that these inequalities are more often perceived by party members (92 percent) than by non-party members (84 percent), and more often by white collar workers than by blue collar workers or farmers. The inequalities principally are in the existence of privileged social categories, distinguished by high incomes and State positions. Eighty-six percent of the people believe that the present differences in earnings are flagrant. Sixty-seven percent believe that the poor are unjustly treated in relation to those with money; 47 percent believe that the ordinary workers are treated unfairly in comparison with people in leadership positions. Sixty-one percent of the total believe that it is unfair that high positions are linked with privileges and they demand that incomes be reduced, and that availability of goods in short supply, such as housing and automobiles, access to special shops, private clubs, clinic, etc. to persons in high positions, be restricted. As the Research Center's report states: The results show that the people's lack of confidence in the authorities lies in their strong belief that social inequalities and injustices exist.

An examination of other opinion surveys made in postwar Poland shows that regardless of percentage fluctuations, economic differentiation is the principle of social distribution that is most often mentioned. It is also interesting that although in surveys made 20 years ago the existence of strong social differences was mentioned more frequently by blue collar workers than by white collar workers, this time the order is reversed. Taking into account also the predominance of party members who perceive social inequalities, I would be inclined to ascribe this to the marked differences in economic position that developed in recent years between the leadership apparatus and the remaining social classes, independent of their type of work and their organizational affiliation. The proposed social revindication program would, in this case, have broad social backing and would be aimed at those people who are in government positions, and who by virtue of these positions, are, along

with their families, directly or indirectly benefitting from economic privileges. The last decade hastened, it would seem, the widening of the gap in the standard of living between this class of people and the rest of Polish society. Thus the present egalitarianism is not directed against the differences in earnings as such; neither is it directed against "private initiative," which usually attempts in these cases to play the role of "scapegoat", but it is mainly against the economic position and life style of the leadership apparatus.

If further events are to maintain their present character of negotiation and bargaining between the labor world and the State's leadership apparatus, the latter will have to submit to large reductions in material privileges. It is essential that the leadership's living conditions be made public, that the leadership be rotated, that it be held responsible for mistakes and violations of law, and the principles of selection and promotion by democratized. Marxists are inclined towards pessimism if relinquishment of economic privilege is at stake. Let us note, however, that historically more changes have been made by pressure, reform and adaptation than by direct confrontation. The pressure of social expectations organized in workers' movements combined with an economic crisis should lead to a change in government ethos. Based on entirely genuine socioeconomic premises one can perceive the possibility of solving the most burning social issue by the formation of a new morality, which on another occasion I called a style of civic decency. In any case, the rest of society expects such civic decency from the authorities.

Attempt at Summation

Early in September the majority of public opinion (60 percent) expected that as a result of agreements between labor and government there would be a change for the better, especially in food supplies. Two months later the same percentage of people believed that no real changes had occurred in Poland during this period and that the food situation had even deteriorated. The economic crisis, of which society became increasingly aware in the fall, is therefore the basic cause for their negative assessment of the implementation of agreements by the government. An overwhelming majority of the people (80 to 90 percent) are in favor of changes in Poland, and barely 5 percent hold a definitely opposing viewpoint.

In view of the worsening economic situation, those stipulations of the "social treaty" which were lower in the ranking of social needs have become important. There seems to be no reason why the authorities could not make concessions in those matters which are directly under their control. If the government is not able to effect improvements in market supplies, it can at least reduce the work week (which has already been done), and reduce censorship. During this involved social process, which began in the summer of 1980, public opinion, still feeling its way, without complete information on the condition of the State and without experience in independent participation in public life, is learning and is modifying the tasks it is setting forth before the authorities. Wage demands, after they had been met--with such confusion as to be damaging to the economy--turned out to be much less significant than had been previously believed. Thus the demand for an improved market situation has come to the forefront. To meet this demand, however, important reforms must be made in the economic system, which will also mean changes in other areas of public life. Demand for control over the authorities, freedom of word and print, censorship reduction, stimulation of factory and community self-government, openness of public life, etc.,

once they have been made, become an accelerating force that is increasingly important during the period that reforms are developed and introduced, when the implementation of economic demands is suspended. This also aids reform itself, which has meaning only when the democratization of public life is well advanced and when interference of State authority is reduced.

The statement often made that economic demands played a fundamental role in this whole process is just not true. It may be that the economic crisis was a catalyst, for it shattered the hopes that had been built up during the first five-year plan of the 1970's, hopes for greater personal prosperity and fewer social inequalities. The economic and social hopes were fulfilled only at the highest levels, while a large majority of the people began, "after the big leap," to more strongly feel first the halt and then the regression in development. These, as we know from the days of de Tocqueville, are typical premises of large social movements. Since August, however, there has been a universal striving for formation of new, independent, self-governing trade unions, and this is a demand that cannot be called strictly economic. Trade unions are an instrument for the defense of all interests in the labor world, economic as well as social. Society's mass support for the new trade union movement was thus also support for democracy, even if further down the way something ostensibly more closely linked to democracy would appear. But the people know that in order to make equality and justice, law and order, and democracy, realities, social forces must be organized which will then, by their demands, steer the authorities to the correct course of action. This is a hundred times more important than a situation in which a series of democratic institutions is organized, but among them there is no one with the willingness or courage to make the proper use of these institutions.

Daring, responsibility and perseverance, combined with judgment and discretion, also appear to be basic principles emerging from the survey data. The need for law and order, so strongly emphasized by public opinion, can only be satisfied if value is returned to law. This requires development of an independent judiciary and the application of law to the social perception of judgment and justice, submission of the leadership apparatus to the courts. There is place here also for a new ethos of authority, as I mentioned earlier. Law and order in society is nothing more than the most urgent formulation by the government of precise action programs to bring the country out of the crisis and satisfy social needs.

The demand for law and order in society is, after all, the striving to return vitality to certain basic moral principles which have been steadily violated in the past decade. Government integrity, the expectation that the State apparatus exists to serve the citizens, confidence in public leaders, conformance of rules and regulations to the needs of the people, the social usefulness of police operations, truthful information, freedom of public activities without repression and within the framework of the constitution and freedom of public expression in accord with personal convictions. Democratic governments of law that guarantee moral order and conscience are, of course, also a guarantee of human and civic dignity for us.

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ROLE OF RUSSIA IN 'REVOLUTION' OF 1821

Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in Romanian 26 Feb 81 p 15

/Article by Dan Berindei: "External Aims and International Context"/

/Text/ The revolutionary events of 1821, which took place 160 years ago, are among the high points of Romanian history and they have never ceased to attract the attention of those who strive to decipher the messages of the past and to restore their their true significance. Although the opinions expressed sometimes reflect viewpointes of a polemic commitment rather than the effort to provide a clear, logical and historical explanation (in the sense of comprehension of the historical facts), there is no question that Romanian historiography, beginning with C. D. Aricescu, has made marked progress in interpreting the combination of highly complex circumstances in 1821.

While the qualification as a revolution is generally accepted, contemporary Romanian historiography presents limitations and varying opinions on the objectives. As regards the internal objectives, and this may be one more argument for qualifying them as a revolution, the events of 1821 reflected complex aims. All society was involved in the events, and the various classes and social categories all expressed their demands, but the predominant ones were those expressed by the middle strata, including the pandours who largely belonged to the free peasantry. Tudor himself was primarily the exponent of these middle strata, while the claims on behalf of the serfs did not present their basic problems, namely abolition of feudal relations and endowment of the bondsmen with land. As for the external national objectives, there are some who have recently restricted or even contested the anti-Ottoman character of the revolution and confined it to solely anti-Phanariot aims.

It is the historian's task to evaluate the documents and situations and to draw the conclusions. But there is a clear distinction between political maneuvers essential at a given point (and this consideration was quite warranted when the Czarist Empire abandoned those it had provoked by means of the Ottoman repression) and the real objectives, which are difficult to establish under the circumstances, just as the external objectives in 1848 were difficult to establish for the objective reason of the existence of the neighboring empires. As Patrascanu quite rightly said, "Despite appearances to the contrary, the Oltenian revolution was to be the first decisive step toward emancipation from the suzerainty of the Porte."

*In this connection see Mircea T. Radu's article in LUCEAFARUL Nos 5 and 7, concerning which we are reserving our opinions because we are benefiting by the promised hospitality of the editors of that journal.

The immediate national objective was the expulsion of the Phanariot princes, but it must not be forgotten that it was also a matter of restoring the nation's rights and that Tudor, who had fought the Turks in 1806-1812 and had in mind the image of the past and the unity of his people, could not remain passive before a rule that had generated the Phanariot system and had fettered his people's free development as well as that of the neighboring peoples. Despite the messages /arzuri/ sent to the Porte and a very tactful approach, accentuated after Czarist Russia's desertion, liberation from foreign rule was part of the revolutionary leader's basic plans. We think the words Ilie Fotino said were spoken by him in a speech at Slatina in the beginning of March 1821 are authentic: "The Russians will help us take the fortresses on Romanian soil and then we shall be free under our own laws," and they were a clear expression of the aspiration to independence from both the neighboring empires.

Tudor was undoubtedly anti-Phanariot and proved it in the first message sent to the Porte and also when Scarlat Calimachi's caimacans were pressuring him to evacuate the capital and he refused, preferring to die "with honor" in "his house" than to wander "through forests according to the wishes and plans of the Phanariots," and when in the new situation created by the Czarist government's disavowal the more limited anti-Phanariot action could still be effective as distinguished from the broader anti-Ottoman one. But that is no reason to overlook the aims of liberation from the Ottoman Porte, which were a basic objective of the revolution of 1821, and of course their fulfillment was objectively dependent upon Russian military aid.

In any case the social and national objectives (in the broadest sense, including the primordial existence of thoughts of state unity of the Romanians scattered over various countries) were combined in the operational plans and program of the revolution. No dichotomy can be made between them and they can be fully understood only in correlation, which also explains the role of the events of 1821 as a trigger and a prologue to the whole process of formation of the modern Romanian state.

No people's history can ever be divorced from an international context or from their natural ties with other peoples. As the party secretary general so strikingly phrased it at his meeting with the historians' representatives on 27 May 1980, if we overlook "the close interdependence of civilizations, we fall into a narrow nationalism that serves no one." Then too Nicolae Ceausescu asked the historians "to emphasize the historical facts that favored contacts and mutual influences among the populations of these regions, a process that was basic to the formation of the Romanian nation, the Balkan peoples, and other neighboring peoples."

The 1821 revolution is also more understandable in the context of the revolutionary actions for social and national liberation in these years, movements that included Italy, Spain, Portugal and countries in Latin America and Southeast Europe. Many of them shared the common characteristic of combining popular revolutionary action with that of patriotic military forces. To be sure we have to deal with conditions peculiar to each country that lent the events in each one a certain characteristic course, but nevertheless we cannot consider these events in isolation. It is significant that an anonymous letter sent to the consulates in Bucharest and also circulated in the city at the beginning of 1821 said, in attacking a group of boyars, that "It seems they do not read the newspapers or they would know what is going on now in Spain, Naples and other countries and that the privileges of the peoples are growing everywhere. Nor was it any accident that in a letter sent to Czar Nicholas I on 2/14 January 1828 Ipsilanti acknowledged that "he chose the moment and expedited matters... when the

revolution broke out in Naples and Piedmont, and that he found it "impossible to check the impetus they started." In fact, even in February 1821, on the Czar's errand, Capodistria wrote Consul General Pini in Bucharest words that are revealing as to the way contemporaries regarded the revolutionary events going on as correlated: "In Wallachia as also in Madrid, Lisbon or Naples, a band of soldiers started the disorders and tried to throw the empire into anarchy."

It is out of the question to separate the Romanian people's liberation movement, manifested in the revolution led by Vladimirescu, from that of the peoples of Southeast Europe. An ardent patriot, Tudor the purveyor also understood how to engage in an action that included not only Romanians in the fight for liberation but also the representatives of the peoples directly subject to Turkish rule. Accordingly the revolutionary leader addressed the proclamation of January 1821 to all inhabitants of Wallachia ("Brother inhabitants of Wallachia, of whatever nation you may be"), accordingly Balkan mercenaries were in the ranks of the revolutionary army he commanded while a "Czar" Alexander and a Hagi Prodan with their men were around him, and accordingly when he left Bucharest he addressed the pandours, the Serbs and the Bulgarians, indicating that on 15 May the presence of the Balkan people's representatives at the "people's assembly" was still significant, the Greeks alone naturally joining the Hetaerist army. Therefore at the start of the revolution the approach was broad and the "reconciliation" (clearly arranged beforehand) between the purveyor's forces and those of the government, primarily composed of Balkan mercenaries and members of the Hetaeria, was also still significant, as well as the ties with the Serbs acknowledged by the purveyor to Udritski, the chancellor of the Austrian consulate. If we agree that Tudor Vladimirescu was an enlightened mind, that he acted "very politically" as a document of the time says, and that he pursued not only anti-Phanariot ends but also much broader national objectives and especially the weakening or even the abolition of the Ottoman suzerainty, then the alliance with the forces representing the Balkan peoples and pursuing similar objectives of national liberation was a natural and necessary one.

Vladimirescu's membership in the Hetaeria has not been proved, nor is it accepted by Greek historians like Notis Botzaris or Konstantinos Hatzopulos, while his "halfway" initiation, maintained for a century and more after Aricescu, seems to best correspond to reality. Exchange of opinions and discovery of objectives in common naturally led to the decision to collaborate. The authenticity of the so-called pact discovered in the archives in Budapest by Prof A. Otetea (deserving of great merit in the study of the revolution of 1821) and wrongly contested by some is confirmed by the historical context of the course of events. As far as we are concerned, we considered it an agreement between equal parties back in 1962. It demonstrates neither affiliation nor nor subordination but is evidence of nonaffiliation (because otherwise, as Botzaris also notes, the agreement would not have been necessary!) and of an alliance as an equal. Moreover, the Hetaeria tried to form an alliance with Milos Obrenovici in the same way.

There is no doubt that Tudor was connected with the Hetaeria. It is demonstrated by the Hetaeria leadership's plan at Ismail in October 1820, whereby the Principalities were to be defended by Iordache Olimpiotul, Tudor Vladimirescu and Col Sava. It is attested by Xodilos, who wrote that in his conversations with Sava Tudor Vladimirescu told him "he agreed with his purposes." It is indicated by the fact that at Chisinau Ipsilanti sent a messenger to Vladimirescu a few days before going into Moldavia and at the same time appealed to Consul Pini so that the local authorities would take no repressive measure against Tudor. It is indicated by the events themselves once the revolution began, by Vladimirescu's meeting with Ipsilanti that was decisive in the

relations between the two actions and indicative of some previous commitments by virtue of the accounting requested of Prince Ipsilanti by Vladimirescu, and finally by the purveyor's speech on 15 May notifying the pandours of the imminent "incorporation" of their army with that of the other "brother Christians," indicating that military cooperation between the pandours and Heterists was still possible. Meanwhile all these relationships tend to show clearly that for Tudor the ties with the Hetaeria meant collaboration and not subordination.

If this could not be finally accomplished in positive ways, it was primarily the fault of the great Czarist empire. The theory of noninterference and even of ignorance on the part of the Czar and his government of the preparations and beginning of the Hetaerist action does not bear critical examination. Ipsilanti was the Czar's adjutant and he asked the Czar's permission to assume the leadership of the Hetaeria. Is it then conceivable that preparations of the scope of those begun by the Hetaeria would pass unnoticed in an autocratic empire, that the crossing of the Prut toward Iasi would take place without acceptance by the central and border authorities, or that aid could continue to be sent to the Hetaerist expedition in the following period without at least tacit acceptance? Even Ipsilanti's optimistic attempt in the spring of 1821 to obtain, through the intermediary of Russia, Turkey's consent to his crossing toward Greece shows that at the time he still believed the Czar's support was possible. As for Vladimirescu, his connections with the Russian consulate, his Russian citizenship, and his meetings with Pini and Leventis, Russian consular agents, are significant. It is true that the game was a subtle one, that the Czar hesitated between use of the revolutionary events and the conservative policy of the Holy Alliance, and that the encouragements would soon be followed by denials and disavowals, especially after the "fatal mistakes" pointed out by Stroganov, the Russian representative at the Porte. But that does not mean that this hoped-for and perhaps promised support (persistently brought up by the Hetaeria's leadership even when there was no longer any occasion to) did not play an essential part in the formation of alliances on the national and social levels. I add that Vladimirescu himself, at the meeting after he arrived in Bucharest with the "people's assembly," admitted to Udritzki his doubt about Russia's real intentions, and therefore he still did not give full credence to the disavowals.

While Russia was directly or indirectly involved in the events of both the Romanian and the Greek revolutions, Habsburg Austria showed its disagreement from the start. Fear of revolutionary contamination of the Romanians subject to the Vienna court's rule was one of the motives for Metternich's policy, although the Habsburg authorities could not refuse the right of asylum both to the refugees from Wallachia (boyars and also more simple people) and to the Hetaerists in the moments of their defeat and dispersal or to some of the pandours.

The third empire, the suzerain power, was the one that took repressive action in the Romanian Principalities. While this did not happen until the end of the spring of 1821, it was partly due to Tudor Vladimirescu's efforts to avoid the Ottoman invasion. At first out of tactical considerations and expectations of the appearance of the forces with which he was to collaborate (the Hetaerists and especially the units of the Russian regular army) and later, after the Czar's desertion, in the effort to avoid an invasion, the leader of the "people's assembly" made every effort to stop the Turks from going into Wallachia and consequently Moldavia. Moreover he now tried to reach an agreement to fulfill at least part of the revolutionary demands. But the Turks finally advanced because he had refused the betrayal, of which the Hetaeria's leadership unjustly accused him. If he evacuated Bucharest, it does not mean he did not intend an anti-Ottoman resistance -- not there, but in Northern Oltenia, as he said, at a

given point. Before leaving the capital Tudor the purveyor continued negotiations with the Ottoman pashas, but he intended to tell the pandours, according to Chiriac Popescu's testimony, that they had to discharge "the gun... into the flesh of the Turks, who will attack us," which happened not only in the battle of the Hetaerists at Draganani, in which some pandours also participated, but especially in the first battle of Draganani on 28-29 May, in which only pandours were engaged, and also in their battles of resistance which followed in the next few months. Vladimirescu did not seek observance of the connections with the Ottoman Empire nor subordination to Czarist Russia, but the free advancement of his own people and improvement of their condition. During the revolution he had to adjust his objectives to the particular conditions. This explains maintenance of the contacts with the Turks, especially after the Czar's disavowal and as a result of the obvious military weakness of the Hetaeria's forces.

The external context of the revolution of 1821 brings out its universal importance. The external correlations often explain the texture of the events of that critical point in the nation's history and offers an opportunity for meditation and full comprehension of that "start of the road" to what modern Romania was to become as a result of the competence, dedication and courage of the Romanian nation.

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NEW RULES ON EXCHANGE OF CURRENCY BY FOREIGNERS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 12, 25 Feb 81 p 2

[Republication[1)] of Council of State Decree No 184/1974 on the Currency Premium Which Is Applied in the Purchase and Sale of Currency for Non-Commercial Operations]

[Text] In light of the large price increases and the inflationary processes which have taken place recently on foreign markets and in light of the fact that in the Socialist Republic of Romania the prices have remained stable, the necessity has arisen to modify the hard currency premium which is applied in the official rate of exchange of currency by foreigners for tourism and other non-commercial operations.

Periodically, in accordance with the changes which have taken place on foreign markets, this premium will be modified, more or less, accordingly.

In light of the above,

The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Art. 1--The hard currency premium which is applied in the purchase and sale of the currencies of the non-socialist countries for non-commercial operations is set at 146.09 percent of the official exchange rate in lei.

In addition, a service tax is applied in the personal sale of the currencies mentioned above by Romanian citizens.

Art. 2--Persons with permanent residence in the non-socialist countries who come to the Socialist Republic of Romania are obliged to exchange a sum of money amounting to at least 10 US dollars per person, for every day of their stay in the country or the equivalent of this sum in other currencies accepted by the National Bank of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The provisions of Paragraph 1 do not apply:

a) to persons of Romanian origin who have foreign citizenship or who are stateless;

b) to persons with Romanian citizenship residing abroad who have valid Romanian passports;

c) to persons permanently residing abroad who no longer have valid Romanian passports but who have not renounced their Romanian citizenship;

d) to the parents, spouses, and children of the persons specified in letters a) through c).

In exceptional cases, the Ministry of Finance or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or the Ministry of the Interior will be able to approve a dispensation from the obligation specified in Paragraph 1 for other persons with permanent residence in the non-socialist countries, who are natives of Romania.

Art. 3--In the execution of the provisions of Article 2 of the present decree, the Ministry of Finance, together with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Tourism, the National Bank of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Romanian Foreign Trade Bank will compile a list of persons to whom the provisions of this article are applicable.

Art. 4--The hard currency premium specified in Article 1 Paragraph 1 is applied in the non-commercial operations specified in the annex[2)] to the present decree.

Art. 5--The provisions of Article 1 are applicable beginning 2 October 1974.[3)] The provisions of Article 2, Paragraph 1 and of Article 3 are applicable beginning 1 November 1974.

Art. 6--The provisions of Article 1 are applied in relations with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.[4)]

Art. 7--Council of Ministers Decision No 1639/1971 is abrogated.

FOOTNOTES

1. Republication on the basis of Article III of Council of State Decree No 20 of 10 February 1981, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL, Part I No 9 of 10 February 1981.

   Council of State Decree No 184/1974 was published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 120 of 2 October 1974 and was republished in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 96 of 9 November 1976.

2. The annex has been transmitted to the institutions concerned.

3. With the exception of Paragraph 1 which, in accordance with Article II of Council of State Decree No 20/1981, is applicable five days after the issuance of the decree mentioned.

4. The provisions of Article 6, as modified by Council of State Decree No 89/1978 are applicable beginning 6 March 1978.

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ORGANIZATION OF UTILITARIAN AVIATION ENTERPRISE CHANGED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 12, 25 Feb 81 p 1

[Council of State Decree Modifying the Organizational Structure of the Utilitarian Aviation Enterprise]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Art. 1--Beginning on 1 April 1981 the departments responsible for AVIASAN, the AVIASAN stations and the AVIASAN detachments specified in the organizational structure of the utilitarian aviation enterprise under the Department of Civil Aviation are abolished.

Art. 2--The utilitarian aviation enterprise will have as the purpose of its activity the performance of utilitarian aeronautical services.

Art. 3--The assets and liabilities of the health aviation formations in the utilitarian aviation enterprise are transferred to the Department of Civil Aviation on the basis of the balance as of 31 March 1981. The personnel in the functional apparatus of the utilitarian airbases will be compensated in accordance with Level IV for organization, Group III for branches.

Art. 4--Personnel transferred in the interest of the job or placed in positions with smaller compensation in the same unit, as a result of the application of the provisions of the present decree, benefit from the rights stated in Article 21 of Decree No 162/1873 in regard to the setting of unitary structural norms for economic units.

Art. 5--The State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Finance will introduce modifications resulting from the present decree in the indicators of the single national plan as well as in the volume and structure of the state budget for 1981, in accordance with annexes No 1) and No 2) which are a part of the present decree (Footnote: The annexes are transmitted to the institutions concerned.)

Art. 6--Article 4 of Council of Ministers Decision No 117/1975 on the modification of Council of Ministers Decision No 1303/1972 on measures referring to the transfer of civil aeronautical activity and of civil aviation units to the Ministry of National Defense as well as for the improvement of utilitarian and health aviation activity and point 10 of Chapter IV of the annex to Council of Ministers Decision No 117/1975 are abrogated.

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 2 February 1981
No 37

CSO: 2700

BRIEFS

NEW TRADE UNION LEADERS--According to the Bucharest MUNCA in Romanian, weekly organ of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions in Romania, 27 February 1981, pp 2-3, the following were elected chairmen of the county and municipality trade union organs during recent reports and elections conferences: Gheorghe Gheorghe (Vilcea County), Stefan Popa (Petrosani Municipality). Viorel Stefanescu (Bucharest Municipality), Traian Ticau (Focsani Municipality). The 6 March issue of the same paper, pp 2-3, reports additional elections for first secretary as follows: Grigore Mihaescu (Giurgiu County), Nicolae Tar (Mures County); Constantin Plesa (Buzau County), Maria Meiloiu (Sibiu), Eleonora Mosneagu (Botosani); Haralambie Draghici (Mehedinti); Maria Giligor (Iasi); Costan Dobrican (Maramures); Aurel Mocioiu (Dolj); Nicolae Sandu (Tulcea); Floarea Bucur (Dimbovita); Arpad Orban (Covasna); Elena Pietraru (Galati); Gratian Faur (Hunedoara); Viorel Igret (Arad); Toma Ionete (Vrancea); Marin Baicu (Olt); Ion Ciuperca (Teleorman); Gherghina Buzatu (Arges); Silvia Irofte (Bacau); Mihai Mangra (Bihor); Tanase Somesan (Bistrita-Nasaud); Ioan Puscas (Brasov; Constanta Turcu (Braila); Tudor Iorga (Caras-Severin); Vasile Balaci (Calarasi); Ion Floricica (Cluj); Constantin Carata (Constanta); Gheorghe Ciurez (Gorj); Alexandru Balasz (Harghita); Grigore Radu (Ialomita); Elena Albu (Neamt); Petre Frone (Prahova); Ion Tilinca (Satu Mare); Ilie Gorgan (Salaj); Gheorghe Miron (Suceava); Aurel Raveliuc (Timis); Nicolae Boscioca (Vaslui). [Editorial Report]

NEW YOUTH LEADERS--In accordance with the measures established by the party and with the provisions of the Council of State Decree of 23 January 1981 on improvements in the administrative organization of the territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania, sessions were held to establish the Union of Working Youth organizations and committees in Giurgiu, Ialomita and Calarasi counties and in the Ilfov Agricultural Zone in Bucharest Municipality. The following comrades were elected first secretaries of the county committees of the Union of Communist Youth: Silvia Trifanescu -- Giurgiu County; Eugenia Coman -- Ialomita Countt; Gheorghe Vlad -- Calarasi County. Marin Nicolae was elected first secretary in the Ilfov Agricultural Zone of Bucharest Municipality. [Excerpts] [Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 3 Feb 81 p 5]

RELEASE OF OFFICIALS--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Emil Bobu is relieved of his position as minister of labor receiving other tasks. Comrade Cornel Onescu is relieved of his position as first deputy chairman of the Committee for Peoples Councils Problems, receiving other tasks. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 11, 24 Feb 81 p 4]

NEW REPRESENTATIVE IN GENEVA--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Constantin Ene, ambassador, is relieved of his position as permanent representative of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the Office of the United Nations and the specialized institutions of the United Nations Organization in Geneva. Comrade Mircea Malita is appointed to the position of permanent representative of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the Office of the United Nations and the specialized institutions of the United Nations Organization in Geneva, with the rank of ambassador. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 12, 25 Feb 81 p 3]

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THEATER PERFORMANCE IN MACEDONIA CAUSES UPROAR

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1573, 22 Feb 81 pp 20-21

[Article by Aleksandar Tijanic: "Drama of the Power of the Press"]

[Text] Many daily newspapers and the national news agency have informed the public that "workers and party members of Astib of Stip refused to attend a performance of the drama 'Greetings to the Press Corps' because they did not agree with the ideological messages of the play." Your reporter learned on the spot that it was not the workers and party members of Astib who refused to attend the performances which had been purchased, but that this was done by the Information and Propaganda Center of Astib, which at the same time is responsible for "workplace culture."

Stip has a population of nearly 40,000, a theater and musical tradition going back many years, and a strong industry.

How did the momentary short circuit come about between Astib and the theater?

Newsmen Versus Editors

Workers of Astib attended one performance of this play as a group and afterward, according to people in the Information and Propaganda Center, protests began to come in from them. The center then decided to cancel the three performances which had been purchased.

The activ of Stip's newsmen, whose president is Ivan Bojadziski, joined in the protest; here is how he presented the reasons why the newsmen asked for the play to be dropped from the repertoire:

"The play is ideologically unacceptable, the denouement does not open up any future prospects, it differs essentially from our social practice of socialist self-management, the truth has no chance of winning out in the play, it is not humanistic, and the drama attacks marriage, which is an important social institution."

Bojadziski says that at the request of the public prosecutor, the management of the theater and the opstina conference of the LCY the newsmen presented to them this position they had taken. The president of the activ of newsmen adds that "the theater showed a lack of sensitivity for the times, since they included in their

repertoire this play, losing sight of the complicated international situation and preparation for the Third Congress of Self-Managers, which has just ended."

Here is how Stip's newsmen see the play: This is a fragment taken from the life and work of one of our newspaper offices. In it the only university-educated newsman opposes the director, who is manipulating the others with the help of his friends and newsmen who are his lackeys.

Consequently, he comes into conflict with everyone in the editorial office and at the director's request the bodies of self-management pass a decision to fire him. At the same time that the conflict at work is escalating, the newsman is having troubles in his marriage as well. After her husband is fired, his wife wants to get a job by "misusing" her charms and obtains a promise (after "full delivery") from the personnel officer of some work organization. Abandoned and alone, the newsman prepares to sell his typewriter, experiences shock and supposedly goes mad. The effective stage set confines the entire editorial office to a closed circle which revolves on the stage, and the hero, defeated and alone, stands outside it.

Aleko Protogerov, director of the People's Theater in Stip, sees the content of the play this way: The hero is a newsman who comes into conflict with the director and his clique, since he insists on a higher quality of journalism and on self-management relations in the editorial office. He rebels against journalism based on copying and against the copying of "his own attitudes" from other newspapers. The director responds: "If there were no copying, there would be no journalism." The newsman is fired, his marriage enters a crisis, his wife gives herself to some lawyer in her search for a job. The hero is desperate.

"Is it possible that a man can be so humiliated? But perhaps I am the one who is wrong. If they hire me back, I will do everything to prove that I am a good worker."

At this point the circles on the stage begin to revolve, and the hero is left outside them. The director of the theater said that the play's message is this: there is a way out, but a man has to fight for his principles. The hero is a constructive individual, since he did not make himself a party to the petty bourgeois spirit and humiliating subservience, regardless of the consequences. He remains outside that circle and continues to fight against it.

The Origin of the Play

In his search for contemporary Macedonian plays Protogerov, manager of the theater, found in the Skopje National Theater this play by Dusko Rodev, a newsman from Skopje. That theater already has two productions of contemporary Macedonian authors this year, and it therefore released the play to the theater in Stip. The council for artistic direction of the Stip theater--five members, all "in-house"--read the play and decided to prepare the production with three votes "in favor," one vote "against" and one "abstaining" (he had not read the play).

The person who had doubts about the play and voted "against" suggested that the play be read to the entire work force of the theater. This was done, and a majority voted to put on the play. It should be said that the theater in Stip, which

employs 24 professionals and has been in existence for 34 years now, does not have a council for the repertoire, so that a broader social influence cannot be exerted on the repertoire. The director of the theater says that up to now they have been unable to reach agreement on the basis for delegating the members of the council, but that this problem will be solved on an emergency basis following these events.

The production of "Greetings to the Press Corps" was directed by Dusko Naumovski, a visiting director from Skopje. In all it was put on six times: bad reviews appeared in Macedonian newspapers. The public reaction in Stip was also mixed. From "this is unacceptable" to "I didn't understand anything." The director of the theater quotes the words of one worker:

"Bravo, those are not trifles which you have represented there."

The director of the theater says that after the performances were canceled he was summoned to talk to the secretary of the party committee and that a recommendation was issued that party members of the theater reassess their decision to put on this play and thus, according to certain interpretations, they were given a chance to drop the play from the repertoire on their own. The party members of the theater held a meeting and decided to continue the production, but they asked that a round-table discussion be organized to include the author of the play, the director, an esthetician, a psychologist, a specialist in dramatic art, delegates of the Socialist Alliance, the Community for Culture and Popular Education, the Self-Managed Community of Interest for Culture, and interested institutions in the city....

The people in the theater cite as evidence of the production's quality that the republic selector, who of 13 productions from all Macedonia selected 4 for recommendation to the federal selector for the Festival of Experimental Little Theaters in Sarajevo, included "Greetings to the Press Corps" among those 4. They also say that the performance was attended unofficially by the federal selector as well and that he praised it--unofficially.

Stojan Troicki, director of the Information and Propaganda Center of Astib, told us that they have exceptionally good relations with the theater and that their work organization appropriates about 400 million old dinars a year for culture in the city. That is why Troicki stresses that this is not a conflict with the theater, but a conflict of opinions concerning a single dramatic production. Incidentally, he says that the performances were canceled without any agreement with the sociopolitical organizations of Astib and that no one could forbid the workers to attend this performance, but that the center will no longer organize group visits to that production. According to him, the play is "ideologically unsuitable, and it is in conflict with the practice of socialist self-management."

Atanas Djurkov, district public prosecutor, feels that the prosecutor's office should not issue a ban "although, in the opinion of many, the play is not in the spirit of our system." It will be necessary to wait for the results of the round-table discussion.

Metodij Milev, chairman of the Stip Opstina Committee of the ICY, says that the manuscript of the play seems not to have passed through the hands of any social

verification. He calmly explains that the cancellation of the performances was perhaps "premature--after all, how can it be said that the workers are against the production if they have not seen it?"

So, in the end? It is evident from what we have presented that many people in Stip regard this play as pessimistic and unrealistic. Others defend its optimism and authenticity. Still others say that a majority of the objections derive from the simple reason that the play itself is poor and the plot contrived.

On Friday, just when you will be reading this article, the round-table discussion will take place in Stip, and after that we will know whether the play "Greetings to the Press Corps" is pessimistic or optimistic.

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